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“AMERICANS AS THEY REALLY ARE”: THE *COLORED AMERICAN* AND THE ILLUSTRATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Benjamin Fagan

On January 7, 1837, a new journal appeared on the streets of New York City. Entitled the *Weekly Advocate*, the newspaper explained in its masthead that it was “Established for, and Devoted to the Moral, Mental, and Political Improvement of the People of Color.” On the back page of that inaugural issue appeared the first installment of “A Brief Description of the United States,” a two-part piece where the paper’s printer, Robert Sears, compiled detailed information on each state’s population, terrain, and history. In his introduction, Sears lauded the United States’ governmental structure, writing, “Her political system has survived the tender period of infancy, and outlived the prophecies of its downfall. It has born the nation triumphantly through a period of domestic difficulties and external danger; it has been found serviceable in peace and in war; and may well claim from the nation it has saved and honored, the votive benediction of *esto perpetua*.”¹ Sears specifically invoked the role of the Federal government in the article’s second installment through the use of an illustration (see Figure 1).

Set off above the sections on the states is a “Description of the Capitol,” giving the measurements of the Capitol building. Dominating the page is an image of the building itself, which is then surrounded by the descriptions of individual states. Reading the page as an image, the separate states are visually bound together by the federal government, as metonymically represented in the Capitol building.² The paper’s front page serves, then, as a literal illustration of the theory of federalism, whereby states and by extension citizens retain a level of autonomy from each other, with their connection mediated through a central, representative government. Such a system theoretically allowed disparate populations to live in harmony despite vast differences in geography, ideology, and culture, so long as they shared a commitment to republican ideals and institutions.³ Unsurprisingly, this political organization appealed to the staff of a newspaper devoted to the cause of black Americans.

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Conducted by a Committee of COLORED MEN.

(For the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.)

Advertisements conspicuously inserted.

ADVOCATE.

ESTABLISHED FOR AND DEVOTED TO THE
PHYSICAL, MENTAL, AND POLITICAL
IMPROVEMENT OF THE
PEOPLE OF THE COLOR.

PHILIP A. BELL,
Proprietor.

New-York, Saturday, January 14, 1837.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE UNITED STATES—Continued.

VOLUME 1.
No. 2.

Useful Knowledge.

Wishes for the N. Y. Weekly Advocate, as conducted by ROBERT BEAN.

NEW JERSEY.
Settled in 1684 by Dutch. Bounded N. by New York; E. by the Hudson, which separates it from New York, and by the Atlantic ocean; S. by the ocean and Delaware Bay, and W. by the river Delaware, which separates it from Pennsylvania and Delaware. It is 163 miles in length from north to south, and 50 miles in breadth, and contains 7,400 sq. miles. It lies between lat. 39 deg. and 41 deg. 18 min. N., and between lat. 71 deg. and 75 deg. 30 min. W. The capital is Trenton, cont. 4,000 in. Newark is a beautiful place, easily improving, an ancient about 15,000 in. Brunswick, Paterson, Elizabethtown, Perth Amboy, Jersey city, Burlington and Haddonfield are the chief cities. The state contains 200,770 in. The commerce of N. Jersey is small, but its manufactures, its proximity to its population, extend about half the largest states. It is noted for its excellent color and fruit. The fertile portion of the state is the most fertile.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Settled in 1687 by Swedes and Finns, in 1688 by the English. Pennsylvania is bounded north by Lake Erie and New York; E. by the river Delaware, which separates it from New Jersey; S. by Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and W. by Kentucky and Ohio. It extends from 39 deg. 43 min. to 42 deg. 10 min. S. lat. and from 74 deg. 40 min. to 81 deg. 20 min. W. long. Its greatest length is 245 miles, and general breadth 150, with an area of 47,000 square miles. Philadelphia is the chief city, and the second in the U. S. in size—situated on the W. bank of the Delaware, 120 miles from the sea. The ground on which the city stands is a gravel level, and it is probably the most regular and uniform surface in the world. The streets are from 50 to 112 feet wide. Population 170,000. Pennsylvania is a large, fertile, well cultivated and wealthy state, distinguished for its fine roads and bridges, numerous manufactures, its coal, marble, slate, and phosphate minerals, and its 134,000 sq. in. of land. The Philadelphia is now transported between Philadelphia and Boston in 24 hrs. Express boats sail 10 times a week.

DELAWARE.
Settled in 1637 by Swedes and Finns. Extending Rhode Island, it is the smallest state in the Union. Delaware is bounded N. by Pennsylvania; E. by the river and bay of Delaware and the ocean, and S. by Maryland. It contains but 2,389 square miles. Its length from north to south is 22 miles; its width from 10 to 36 miles. It lies between 38 deg. 17 min. and 39 deg. 50 min. N. lat., and between 75 deg. and 78 deg. 43 min. W. long. The largest town is Wilmington, in the N. part of the state. The commerce of this state is considerable. No. of inhabitants 75,000. The commerce of Delaware is small. Produce better, wheat, corn, and mineral waters; cont. 76,720 in. Deer is the capital of the state. It has a flourishing trade, chiefly in flour.

MARYLAND.
Settled in 1634 by English Catholics. Established, it is bounded N. by Pennsylvania; E. by Delaware and the Atlantic ocean; S. by Virginia; W. by the ocean. It lies between 38 deg. 10 min. and 39 deg. 50 min. N. lat., and between 75 deg. and 78 deg. 43 min. W. long. The gold mines of Virginia, struck some 20 miles from the coast, are the only ones of the kind in the U. S. Maryland is a large state, with a population of 60,000. It is a fertile and beautiful country, with a soil and climate generally fertile. The principal articles of export are flour, wheat, and tobacco. It is a beautiful country, with a soil and climate generally fertile. The principal articles of export are flour, wheat, and tobacco. It is a beautiful country, with a soil and climate generally fertile. The principal articles of export are flour, wheat, and tobacco.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPITOL.
The Capitol is of white free stone, composed of a central edifice and two wings, and of the following dimensions:
Length of front 250 feet
Length of side 121 feet
Height of dome 105 feet
Height of tower 105 feet
Height of wings to top of dome 48 feet
Diameter of rotunda 90 feet
The cost was \$1,500,000.

Washington born February 23d, 1732
Independence of the U. S. proclaimed July 2d, 1776
Federal Constitution framed, September 17th, 1787
Inauguration of George Washington as President, 1789
John Adams
Thomas Jefferson
James Madison
War declared against England, June 18th, 1812
Peace concluded December 24th, 1814
Inauguration of James Monroe as President, 1817
John Quincy Adams
Andrew Jackson

VIRGINIA.
Settled in 1607 by English. Bounded N. by Maryland and Pennsylvania; E. by Maryland and the Atlantic ocean; S. by North Carolina and Tennessee; and W. by Kentucky and Ohio. It extends from 36 deg. 43 min. to 39 deg. 43 min. N. lat. and from 74 deg. 40 min. to 81 deg. 20 min. W. long. Its greatest length is 245 miles, and general breadth 150, with an area of 47,000 square miles. Philadelphia is the chief city, and the second in the U. S. in size—situated on the W. bank of the Delaware, 120 miles from the sea. The ground on which the city stands is a gravel level, and it is probably the most regular and uniform surface in the world. The streets are from 50 to 112 feet wide. Population 170,000. Pennsylvania is a large, fertile, well cultivated and wealthy state, distinguished for its fine roads and bridges, numerous manufactures, its coal, marble, slate, and phosphate minerals, and its 134,000 sq. in. of land. The Philadelphia is now transported between Philadelphia and Boston in 24 hrs. Express boats sail 10 times a week.

ILLINOIS.
Settled in 1674 by French. Bounded N. by Lake Michigan and Wisconsin; E. by Lake Michigan and Indiana; S. by Kentucky and Tennessee; and W. by Missouri. It extends from 36 deg. 43 min. to 39 deg. 43 min. N. lat. and from 74 deg. 40 min. to 81 deg. 20 min. W. long. Its greatest length is 245 miles, and general breadth 150, with an area of 47,000 square miles. Philadelphia is the chief city, and the second in the U. S. in size—situated on the W. bank of the Delaware, 120 miles from the sea. The ground on which the city stands is a gravel level, and it is probably the most regular and uniform surface in the world. The streets are from 50 to 112 feet wide. Population 170,000. Pennsylvania is a large, fertile, well cultivated and wealthy state, distinguished for its fine roads and bridges, numerous manufactures, its coal, marble, slate, and phosphate minerals, and its 134,000 sq. in. of land. The Philadelphia is now transported between Philadelphia and Boston in 24 hrs. Express boats sail 10 times a week.

MISSISSIPPI.
Settled in 1763 by French. Bounded N. by Tennessee; E. by Alabama; S. by Louisiana; and W. by the Gulf of Mexico. It extends from 30 deg. 43 min. to 33 deg. 43 min. N. lat. and from 88 deg. 40 min. to 91 deg. 20 min. W. long. Its greatest length is 245 miles, and general breadth 150, with an area of 47,000 square miles. Philadelphia is the chief city, and the second in the U. S. in size—situated on the W. bank of the Delaware, 120 miles from the sea. The ground on which the city stands is a gravel level, and it is probably the most regular and uniform surface in the world. The streets are from 50 to 112 feet wide. Population 170,000. Pennsylvania is a large, fertile, well cultivated and wealthy state, distinguished for its fine roads and bridges, numerous manufactures, its coal, marble, slate, and phosphate minerals, and its 134,000 sq. in. of land. The Philadelphia is now transported between Philadelphia and Boston in 24 hrs. Express boats sail 10 times a week.

ARKANSAS.
Settled in 1763 by French. Bounded N. by Missouri; E. by Tennessee; S. by Louisiana; and W. by the Gulf of Mexico. It extends from 30 deg. 43 min. to 33 deg. 43 min. N. lat. and from 88 deg. 40 min. to 91 deg. 20 min. W. long. Its greatest length is 245 miles, and general breadth 150, with an area of 47,000 square miles. Philadelphia is the chief city, and the second in the U. S. in size—situated on the W. bank of the Delaware, 120 miles from the sea. The ground on which the city stands is a gravel level, and it is probably the most regular and uniform surface in the world. The streets are from 50 to 112 feet wide. Population 170,000. Pennsylvania is a large, fertile, well cultivated and wealthy state, distinguished for its fine roads and bridges, numerous manufactures, its coal, marble, slate, and phosphate minerals, and its 134,000 sq. in. of land. The Philadelphia is now transported between Philadelphia and Boston in 24 hrs. Express boats sail 10 times a week.

NORTH CAROLINA.
Settled in 1650 by English. Bounded N. by Virginia; E. by South Carolina; S. by Georgia; and W. by Tennessee. It extends from 35 deg. 43 min. to 38 deg. 43 min. N. lat. and from 75 deg. 40 min. to 78 deg. 40 min. W. long. Its greatest length is 245 miles, and general breadth 150, with an area of 47,000 square miles. Philadelphia is the chief city, and the second in the U. S. in size—situated on the W. bank of the Delaware, 120 miles from the sea. The ground on which the city stands is a gravel level, and it is probably the most regular and uniform surface in the world. The streets are from 50 to 112 feet wide. Population 170,000. Pennsylvania is a large, fertile, well cultivated and wealthy state, distinguished for its fine roads and bridges, numerous manufactures, its coal, marble, slate, and phosphate minerals, and its 134,000 sq. in. of land. The Philadelphia is now transported between Philadelphia and Boston in 24 hrs. Express boats sail 10 times a week.

GEORGIA.
Settled in 1733 by English. Bounded N. by North Carolina; E. by the Atlantic ocean; S. by Florida; and W. by the Gulf of Mexico. It extends from 30 deg. 43 min. to 33 deg. 43 min. N. lat. and from 88 deg. 40 min. to 91 deg. 20 min. W. long. Its greatest length is 245 miles, and general breadth 150, with an area of 47,000 square miles. Philadelphia is the chief city, and the second in the U. S. in size—situated on the W. bank of the Delaware, 120 miles from the sea. The ground on which the city stands is a gravel level, and it is probably the most regular and uniform surface in the world. The streets are from 50 to 112 feet wide. Population 170,000. Pennsylvania is a large, fertile, well cultivated and wealthy state, distinguished for its fine roads and bridges, numerous manufactures, its coal, marble, slate, and phosphate minerals, and its 134,000 sq. in. of land. The Philadelphia is now transported between Philadelphia and Boston in 24 hrs. Express boats sail 10 times a week.

MICHIGAN.
Lately admitted into the Union, settled in 1820 by French. Produces all the necessaries of life, and is a fertile and beautiful country, with a soil and climate generally fertile. The principal articles of export are flour, wheat, and tobacco. It is a beautiful country, with a soil and climate generally fertile. The principal articles of export are flour, wheat, and tobacco.

KENTUCKY.
Settled in 1778 by English. Bounded N. by Virginia; E. by Tennessee; S. by Mississippi; and W. by the Gulf of Mexico. It extends from 35 deg. 43 min. to 38 deg. 43 min. N. lat. and from 75 deg. 40 min. to 78 deg. 40 min. W. long. Its greatest length is 245 miles, and general breadth 150, with an area of 47,000 square miles. Philadelphia is the chief city, and the second in the U. S. in size—situated on the W. bank of the Delaware, 120 miles from the sea. The ground on which the city stands is a gravel level, and it is probably the most regular and uniform surface in the world. The streets are from 50 to 112 feet wide. Population 170,000. Pennsylvania is a large, fertile, well cultivated and wealthy state, distinguished for its fine roads and bridges, numerous manufactures, its coal, marble, slate, and phosphate minerals, and its 134,000 sq. in. of land. The Philadelphia is now transported between Philadelphia and Boston in 24 hrs. Express boats sail 10 times a week.

Figure 1. Weekly Advocate, January 14, 1837.

Philip A. Bell, a black New Yorker who had previously worked as an agent for William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist *Liberator*, edited the *Weekly Advocate* for roughly three months. In its March 4, 1837 number, the paper announced as its new editor Samuel Cornish, former co-editor of *Freedom's Journal*, the United States' first African American newspaper. Immediately upon assuming control of the paper, Cornish renamed it the *Colored American*. Over the next year, Cornish was joined on the paper's staff by Bell, James McCune Smith, and Charles B. Ray, all leading members of New York City's black activist communities. Cornish would remain at the paper's helm until 1839. Ray was installed as sole editor for the *Colored American's* first issue in 1840, a post he would retain for the duration of the paper's run.⁴ At the start of its second year, the *Colored American* estimated a subscriber list of "at least eighteen hundred," with an actual readership of "more than ten thousand," and the paper had earlier concluded that of its readers, "more than three-fourths of the whole number are from our own people."⁵ In addition to its direct subscribers, the *Colored American* maintained "an exchange list of fifty papers."⁶ That is, the *Colored American's* staff sent and received free issues to and from other newspapers, in order that the papers might excerpt and reprint articles appearing in each other's pages. Hence, a paper's message could be spread to readers who never saw an original issue. While the paper may very well have exaggerated its readership and reach—a common journalistic practice—it garnered enough support to continue operations until 1842.⁷

The one constant presence at the *Colored American* from its inception in 1837 through its cessation in 1842 was its printer, Robert Sears. In addition to his work at the newspaper, Sears, a white Canadian, built a successful career as a book publisher. Sears's work in the book trade would have a profound impact on the *Colored American*, as it allowed the paper access to a feature that defined Sears's publications: illustrations. Sears was, according to his 1892 obituary in the *Publisher's Weekly*, "one of the earliest pioneers in arousing and fostering the taste for pictorial representation" and built his publishing success on titles such as *Pictorial Illustrations of the Bible* (1840), *Pictorial History of the United States* (1852), and *New Pictorial Library, or Digest of General Knowledge* (1856).⁸ Sears placed numerous notices for his *Pictorial Illustrations of the Bible* in the *Colored American*, advising readers to purchase this "New, Cheap, and Valuable Publication."⁹ He also advertised for this book by printing large illustrations from it directly in the newspaper. However, the *Colored American's* engagement with the medium of the illustration went far beyond mere advertising. Sears's role as printer provided the *Colored American* access to numerous images, and beginning on March 7, 1840 the paper ran a total of thirty-six major illustrations on its back page. These images have been entirely neglected

by scholars, and their presence directly refutes Joshua Brown's claim in his otherwise excellent study of the nineteenth-century illustrated press that "it would not be until the twentieth century" that "African American papers could afford to include illustrations (or, at least, more than the occasional cartoon)."¹⁰ To the contrary, the *Colored American* offered its readers a wide range of sophisticated images that served not as mere ornamentation but instead engaged with themes and arguments appearing in the newspaper's print sections.

In this article, I focus on how certain images crystallized the *Colored American's* vision for a black American national identity. Rather than offering a broad overview of the illustrations appearing in the paper, I concentrate on a select few, considering each image's relationship to the newspaper as well as to broader print and visual cultures. I focus on how each illustration operates relationally, rather than in isolation, in order to emphasize the importance of the *Colored American* as a context, as well as connections between the images and print practices beyond the newspaper. Towards this end, I briefly lay out how the *Colored American* attempted to work through the question of national identity in its news coverage before turning to the illustrations. On the one hand, the newspaper extolled the potential benefits attending inclusion in the United States while on the other it worried over the federal government's hostility to certain populations within its borders. While events such as the ongoing Seminole War prompted the *Colored American* to move from an argument for inclusion to a recognition of exclusion, the newspaper's illustrations suggest that it did more than simply shift from hope to despair. Rather, the images I examine reveal how the newspaper explored a national identity uncoupled from the United States government, one that retained the promises of liberty and rejected their sacrifice on the altar of slavery.

From its beginnings in 1837, the *Colored American* staked a claim for its readers as full members of an American nation. Justifying the shift in title from the *Weekly Advocate* to the *Colored American*, then-editor Samuel Cornish explained the importance of asserting a national identity, writing to the paper's readers that while many "would rob us of the endeared name, 'AMERICANS'," blacks deserved this appellation. Cornish thus defended "the propriety of the name of our paper, COLORED AMERICAN, and of identifying the name with all our institutions, in spite of our enemies, who would rob us of our nationality and reproach us as exoticks" [emphasis in original].¹¹ Cornish's need to justify the new title to his readers reveals how the paper's declaration of national identity was as much an argument directed at the paper's black constituents as an assertion of an already agreed-upon position. Throughout its run, the *Colored American* would attempt to convince its black readers to claim for themselves a national membership in an America that did at times equate to the United States but that also moved beyond that political formation.

Beyond a passive self-identification, the paper argued that nationality had to be demonstrated through participation in republican institutions. For example, the *Colored American* championed an extension of the franchise for black New Yorkers and implored those that could vote to exercise their right. In the Fall of 1840, the paper printed a series of letters and editorials on the upcoming Presidential election, calling on black Americans to participate in the electoral process. In one October article, editor Charles Ray explained that black New Yorkers had a deep interest in national politics, asking his readers, "Why should they not, Americans as they really are, and interested in the prosperity of the country, and ready always, as they ever have been, to do all in their power, both for its defence and prosperity?" Ray argued that, as full Americans, black New Yorkers would necessarily take an interest in the affairs of the nation. He continued that, though some may still have doubted the national credentials of blacks, "they will yet be found to be among the truest friends and strongest adherents to those pure principles upon which the government of our country was founded."¹² The broader public would come to realize black commitment to the nation's founding principles by extension of the franchise to more black New Yorkers and their subsequent participation in the national political practice of voting.

While the *Colored American* endorsed the United States' federal structure as a possible vessel for black equality, the paper also grappled with how the realities of federal policies revealed a government hostile to certain populations within the nation's borders regardless of their commitment to republican principles. The United States' war against the Florida Seminoles proved how some groups held more sway with the federal government than others and how the slave power in particular could drive the national agenda, an ominous reality for all black Americans, free or enslaved. On February 9, 1841 Ohio Congressman Joshua Giddings delivered a lengthy speech responding to the government's request for "One Hundred Thousand Dollars for the Removal, &c., of Such of the Seminole Chiefs and Warriors as May Surrender for Emigration." The United States had, by that point, been waging war against Florida's Seminole tribes for the better part of the century, and with a possible end to the conflict in sight Giddings sought to "carefully examine the causes that brought it on; the reasons of its repeated renewal and continuation, in order that we may be able to adopt such measures as will ensure peace at the earliest possible moment." Much to the consternation of his southern colleagues, who repeatedly interrupted Giddings during his oration, the Congressman found the "interference of the Federal Government in behalf of slavery" to be "the origin of all our Florida difficulties."¹³ The *Colored American* reprinted Giddings's lengthy speech in its entirety, running installments of the oration on its front page for five consecutive weeks.¹⁴

Through its reprinting of Congressman Giddings's speech, the *Colored American* made the case that the war against the Seminoles, carried out by the federal government, was entirely in the service of the slave states as they attempted to remove from their midst a sanctuary for runaway slaves and recapture those who had fled. For generations, black slaves from Georgia had been running to Florida, where some had joined the Seminoles. Giddings described how native Seminoles "had intermarried with the negroes, and stood connected with them in all the relations of domestic life."¹⁵ The Congressman continued that though many Seminole tribes had initially agreed to emigrate without guarantees from the United States that black Seminoles would be granted the same treatment as native Seminoles, they feared that if "they emigrated west, their wives and children would be taken from them by the Creeks as slaves." Refusing such a course, the Seminoles soon realized that "if they remained in Florida, they must defend themselves against the army of the United States" and thus faced "*war* on one side and *slavery* on the other" [emphasis in original].¹⁶ According to Giddings, then, the question of black slavery defined the conflict on both sides.

Though Giddings pointed to slavery as the Seminole War's underlying cause, the federal government explained the conflict in a language of rights and responsibilities. According to official accounts, the Seminoles had compelled the government to use force by violating legal agreements and endangering true, law-abiding American citizens. In an 1837 letter sent to Congress in support of more war funding, Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett wrote that the "Seminole Indians, having a second time failed to comply with their engagements, this Department has been compelled to make extensive preparations for a vigorous prosecution of the war in Florida" and cited the government's "duty to protect the persons and property of the citizens of that Territory from outrage and violence."¹⁷ The popular press echoed such sentiments in its coverage of the conflict. For example, an 1839 article in the *New York Sun* chronicled a series of Seminole "atrocities" committed against peaceful whites, worrying that "no treaty can bind these wretches" and concluding that "extermination alone will stay their slaughtering, merciless arms."¹⁸ Official and popular arguments in favor of war sanctioned the conflict by asserting the government's responsibility to protect the rights of its citizens—here white Floridians—against all violations.

The *Colored American* reversed this formulation, charging the federal government with failing to enforce the law and protect the Seminoles. The paper printed a letter Congressman Giddings had read into the record from American Indian chief John Walker to Federal agent George Thompson, detailing the failure of the government to protect the Seminoles from white slave catchers. Walker did not want "to make any trouble or to have any difficulty with any of the white people," but he warned Thompson that if the "negro stealers" continued to "trespass

on my premises and my rights, I must defend myself in the best way I can." Walker wrote Thompson for "advice how I am to act" in such circumstances, asking the federal representative, "*is there no civil law to protect me?*" [emphasis in original].¹⁹ Far from refusing to respect the republican institution of the law, Walker resorted to extra-legal measures only when all alternatives had been exhausted. Here, it is the government's refusal to enforce its own laws that results in violence. According to the paper, then, the war against the Seminoles did indeed stem from a violation of republican principles, but on the part of the United States government, not the Florida tribes. Ultimately, the interests of the slave power had thwarted the promise of a national identity grounded in a commitment to certain ideals and institutions.

While the *Colored American's* commentary on the Seminole War certainly displays a disappointment with the failures of the federal government to fulfill its promise to all Americans, the paper did not simply progress from an optimistic position that celebrated the United States' ideals to a pessimistic critique of its practices. Rather, the paper explored an American national identity uncoupled from the United States. The *Colored American* theorized such a formation not only in its print sections but perhaps most clearly in a series of illustrations. On the back page of its June 13, 1840 number the paper printed the "Temple of the Sun at Nineveh," a depiction of the Assyrian Empire's capital city at the height of its glory (see Figures 2 and 3).

A week earlier the paper had begun, as part of its "Sacred Geography and Antiquities" series, a lengthy description of Assyria, beginning with its precise size and location, topography, and climate before moving to an extended discussion of the empire's history.²⁰ The article continued in the next number with a conclusion of the general history followed by a specific focus on the capital city, Nineveh, punctuated by an illustration of that city's most outstanding feature, the Temple of the Sun.²¹ In its discussion of biblical antiquities and its inclusion of an illustration, the *Colored American* fed the growing appetite in the United States for descriptions and images of the Holy Land past and present, a trade exemplified by works such as John Lloyd Stephens's *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land* (1837) and Robert Sears's *Pictorial Illustrations of the Bible* (1840), where this particular version of "The Temple of the Sun at Nineveh" also appeared.²² As scholars have noted, the mid-nineteenth-century obsession with the actual physical space of the Holy Land was powerfully informed by the pervasive sense that the United States represented a modern incarnation of Jerusalem, with Americans as God's new chosen people.²³ In his study of "Holy Land mania," Hilton Obenzinger argues that when encountering descriptions of biblical sites, Americans drew upon the well-established strategy of "typological association, the practice of reading events, people, and even landscapes as incarnations of scriptural precedent, as 'antitypes' fulfilling original, biblical 'types'."²⁴ In other words,

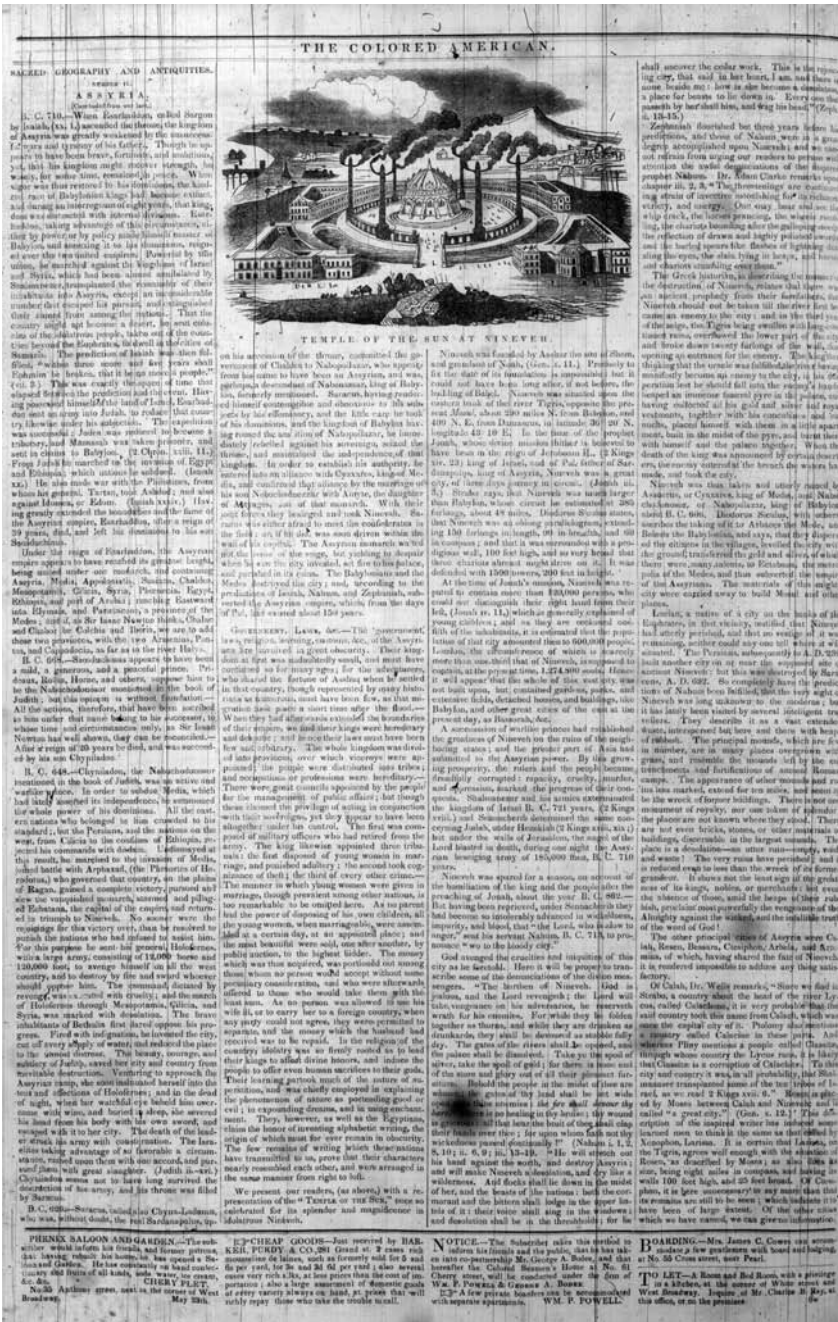


Figure 2. Colored American, June 13, 1840.

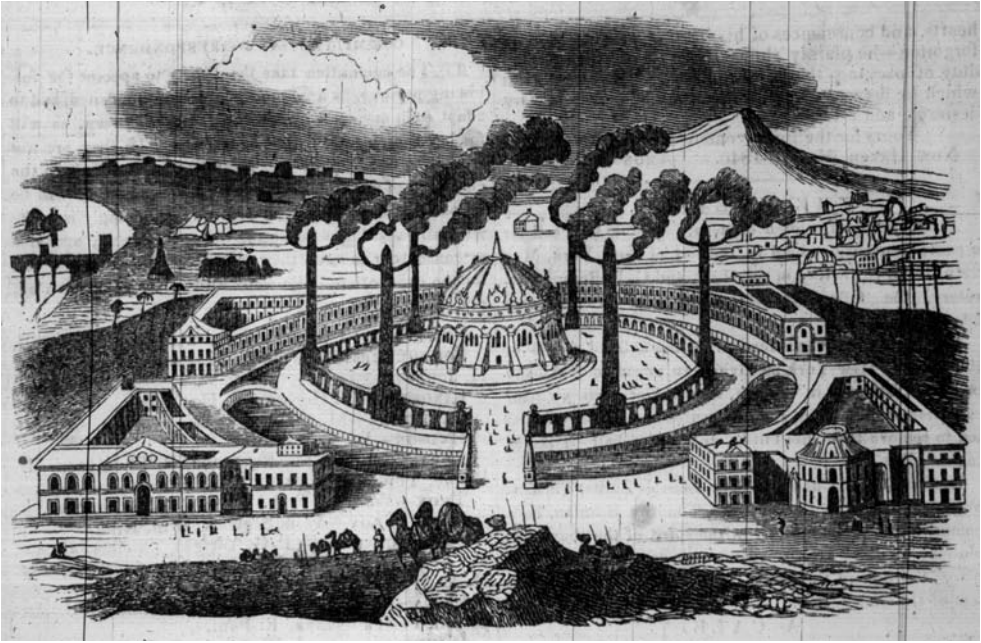


Figure 3. "The Temple of the Sun at Nineveh," *Colored American*, June 13, 1840.

religious scenes and iconography invited an allegorical reading, with audiences interpreting their contemporary conditions through the lens of providential design, thereby collapsing the distinctions between the past and the present, as well as the sacred and the secular.

The *Colored American's* description of Assyria and Nineveh certainly invited a typological or allegorical reading, though not one that equated the United States with Jerusalem. Formally, the June 6 to June 13 sequence echoed the paper's earlier description of the United States. There, the *Colored American* had offered a detailed outline of the nation's key features before turning to a specific accounting of each state, and it anchored the entire description with an illustration of the Capitol building. In its 1840 series, the paper performed a visual substitution, placing the "Temple of the Sun" where the Capitol had once stood. While readers in 1840 may never have seen the earlier articles, the comparison underscores how the paper used illustrations to perform the typological association of the United States with biblical history. However, in this case the *Colored American* invited its readers to equate the United States not with Jerusalem, but with Assyria, an empire that had enslaved and oppressed the Israelites. The paper explained that, seated in the imperial capital, "a succession of warlike princes had established the greatness of Nineveh on the ruins of neighboring states." Intoxicated by such conquests, "the rulers and the people became dreadfully corrupted; rapacity, cruelty, murder, and op-

pression, marked the progress of their conquests.” The *Colored American* continued that while its illustration may have presented Nineveh at the height of its glory, at present

there is not one monument of royalty, nor token of splendor; the places are not known where they stood. There are not even bricks, stones, or other materials of buildings, discernable in the largest mounds. The place is a desolation—an utter ruin—empty, void, and waste! The very ruins have perished; and it is reduced to less than a wreck of its former grandeur. It shows not the least sign of the greatness of its kings, nobles, or merchants; but even the absence of those, amid the heaps of their rubbish, proclaim most powerfully the vengeance of the Almighty against the wicked, and the infallible truth of the word of God!²⁵

Once a powerful empire, Assyria and its capital Nineveh had been laid to waste, with even its ruins wiped away. Declaring the fall of Assyria as proof of the “infallible truth of the word of God,” the paper reminded its readers that this fate had been foretold. The Bible related how Isaiah had prophesied that the Assyrian oppression of Israel would invite the wrath of God, delivering the Lord’s promise that He “will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulders.”²⁶

By drawing on the prophecies of Isaiah, the *Colored American* offered an alternative reference for the typological association between the United States and biblical history, a connection often rooted in the prophecies of Jeremiah. Jeremiah warned the Israelites that their departure from God’s will would invite destruction but promised that they would eventually be redeemed, proving their status as God’s chosen people. As scholars such as Perry Miller and Sacvan Bercovitch have noted, American preachers and politicians often invoked the form of the Jeremiad when grappling with the nation’s tribulations, reading setbacks as proof of the United States’ claim to being the New Jerusalem.²⁷ Antebellum black Americans also drew upon this model to explain their own oppression, making it all the more significant that the *Colored American* turned to a different set of prophecies.²⁸ For while the prophecies of Isaiah are at times similar to those of Jeremiah, Isaiah’s writings concentrate on the fate of Israel’s enemies, promising them not redemption but instead eradication. Rather than following what Miller describes as the Jeremiad’s “dialectic of decline and recovery,” the *Colored American* turned to what we might term a black Isaiad, a declension narrative that highlighted the costs of oppression.²⁹ Rooting its typological reading in the Isaiad rather than the Jeremiad, the *Colored American* invited its readers to cast the United States not as Israel but as its oppressor and thus to consider contemporary events

not as signs of that government's preeminence but instead of its eventual demise.

While "The Temple of the Sun at Nineveh" concluded the *Colored American's* two-installment piece on Assyria, it also began a two-part sequence of illustrations depicting the fate of biblical oppressors, as foretold in the book of Isaiah. The newspaper's next issue printed a copy of John Martin's dramatic engraving, "The Destruction of Babylon" (see Figures 4 and 5).³⁰

The English Martin had originally become famous for his paintings but by the 1830s had turned his attention to mezzotint engravings. Early in the decade, he produced and published a series of cuts based upon biblical scenes, including his own interpretation of Isaiah's Assyrian prophecy, "The Fall of Nineveh," as well as the 1831 "Destruction of Babylon" reproduced in the *Colored American*.³¹ Like the Assyrian prophecy, Isaiah foretold the fate of Babylon. More so even than the destruction of Assyria, the book of Isaiah declares the doom of Babylon as incontrovertible and permanent: "It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation."³² As with Assyria, the cause of this eradication is the oppression of the Israelites, for "he that ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted, and none hindereth."³³ Again inviting its readers to engage in a typological reading anchored in the Isaiaid, the *Colored American* emphasized the possibility that the United States' policies confirmed it as a doomed oppressor rather than a chosen nation guaranteed redemption.

In addition to biblical typology, the *Colored American's* Nineveh-Babylon sequence visually referenced another well-known series of images that chronicled the fate of a civilization. In 1836 the painter Thomas Cole had exhibited his five-piece *The Course of Empire* in New York City, and the installation had been widely commented upon by the city's press.³⁴ Cole's paintings narrated the life of an unnamed empire from its beginnings in a "Savage State" to its emergence in the "Pastoral or Arcadian State," moving to its apex in the "Consummation of Empire" before illustrating its terrible fall in "Destruction" and concluding with its ruins in "Desolation." While on its face the series displays a Hellenistic empire, its numerous American references and Cole's own politics have led some critics to read the series as a commentary on Jacksonian America.³⁵ In addition, John Davis points out in his study of Holy Land imagery that "*The Course of Empire* was also seen as relating to Jerusalem and other biblical cities such as Tyre, Sidon, and Nineveh."³⁶ The *Colored American's* Nineveh-Babylon sequence told a story similar to that of Cole's series, and especially the quick move from an empire's glorious "consummation" to its terrible "destruction." While the paper never directly referenced *The Course of Empire*, Cole and the *Colored American* used a similar strategy for critiquing the United States, one that drew upon biblical allegories of decline rather than of redemption. Considering the *Colored American's* illustrations not only in isolation, or even within the context of the paper, but also in relation to broader

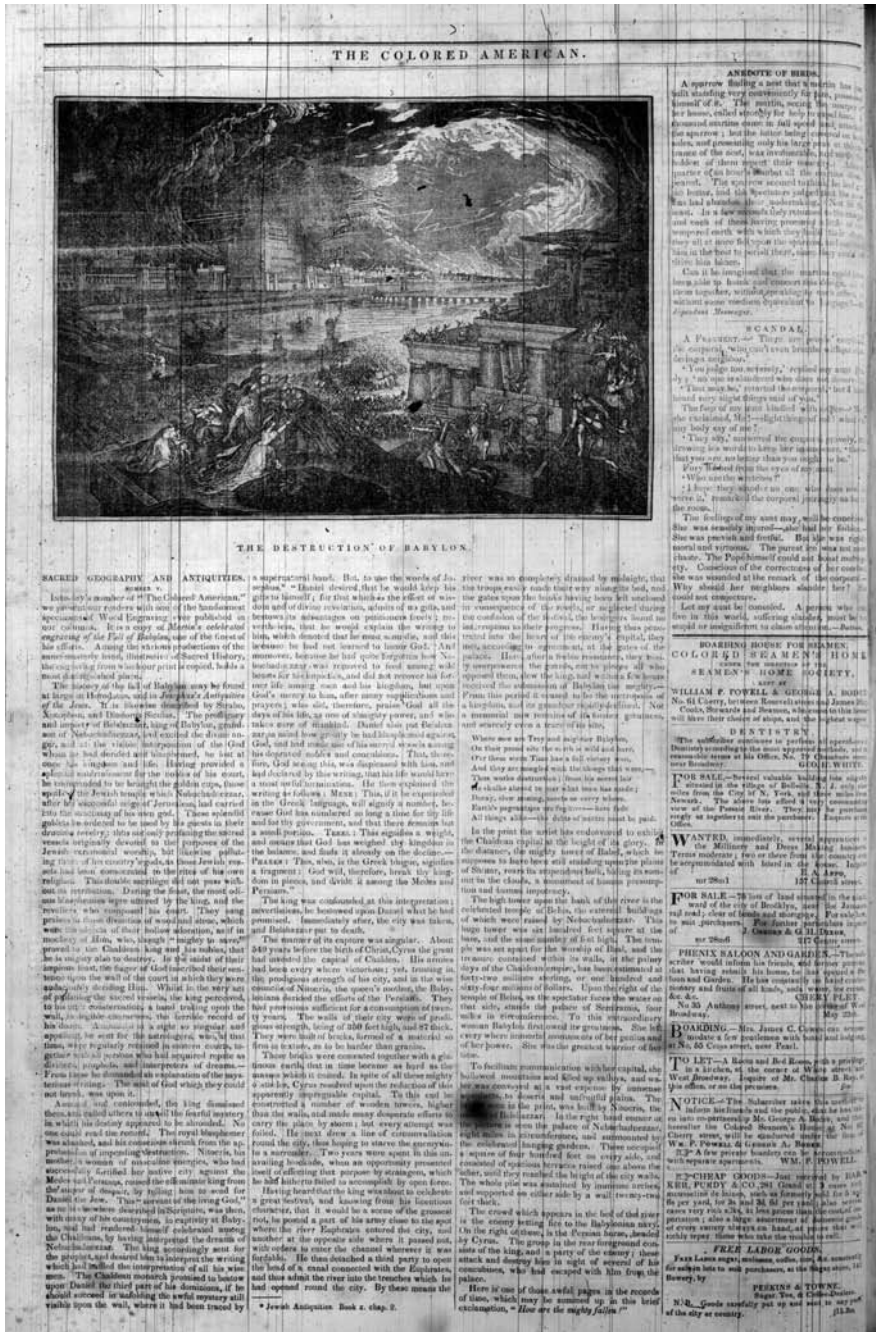


Figure 4. Colored American, June 20, 1840.



Figure 5. "The Destruction of Babylon," *Colored American*, June 20, 1840.

visual cultures underscores how the newspaper used images to make nuanced and sophisticated arguments about national identity through a medium that had been established as well-suited for that very purpose. "Temple of the Sun at Nineveh" and "The Destruction of Babylon" presented an illustrated allegory that turned the traditional association between the United States and the Holy Land on its head. This visual Isaiad cast the Federal government as an oppressive empire like Assyria or Babylon, and those it persecuted—such as black Americans and the Florida Seminoles—as the Israelites. Hence, God's new chosen people were indeed living on an American continent, but they were not represented by the United States. Through these images, then, the *Colored American* suggested to its black readers an ideal national identity that existed beyond the contours of the state.

In addition to its engagement with biblical history, the *Colored American* also presented illustrations from American mythology. In perhaps the most striking example of this practice, and one that clearly resonates with the paper's struggles to reconcile the promise of national identity with the reality of a hostile government, the paper of-

ferred its readers “William Penn’s First Treaty with the Indians” (see Figures 6 and 7).³⁷ The image appearing in the newspaper is a copy of Benjamin West’s iconic 1771 painting, *William Penn’s Treaty with the Indians*. In 1775 John Boydell published an engraving of the painting done by John Hall, and it is this cut that appears in the *Colored American*, though it is important to note that the image running in the paper reverses the original engraving, a feature that undoubtedly occurred during the printing process.³⁸ In the accompanying text, the *Colored American* explained to its readers that “William Penn was the illustrious founder of the State of Pennsylvania” and that the “wood cut which we now publish represents one of the most remarkable and interesting events in his life, and in the history of the world.” Unlike previous European settlers, who treated the Indians “as if they possessed no more rights of any kind than the lower animals that occupied the wilderness along with them,” Penn “recognized them as belonging to the family of man” and negotiated treaties “in a spirit of amity and mutual accommodation.”³⁹ While celebrating Penn’s specific accomplishment, then, the *Colored American* framed his interactions with American Indians as an exception. Indeed, what made Penn’s negotiations so “remarkable” was precisely their departure from the more common exploitative approach taken by other Europeans.

Considered alongside the *Colored American*’s commentary on the Seminole War, the paper’s commentary on “William Penn’s First Treaty with the Indians” reminded its readers that while instances of accommodation famously punctuated the history of white settler interactions with the continent’s native inhabitants, the more common approach had consistently been one of violence and exploitation. Though the painting itself seemingly belies this tradition, Beth Fowkes Tobin has argued in her study of eighteenth-century British painting that West’s composition performs a series of reversals that highlight its inherent contradictions. Tobin contends that while historically Penn and his allies were “motivated by a desire for gain,” they appear in West’s painting as “bestowers of gifts,” while “greed flickers” on the faces of the Indians, eager to obtain the cloth at the center of the painting.⁴⁰ Similarly, while Penn “was able to finesse his deals with [the American Indians] because the threat of violence was implicit in the European colonization of America”—a point emphasized by the *Colored American*’s explanatory text—the painting displaces the capacity for violence onto the Indians, leaving Penn as the arbiter of peace.⁴¹ Through these reversals, West’s painting presents “conquest” as “an act of magnanimity.”⁴² Multiple scholars have argued that Thomas Penn, son of William, had precisely this effect in mind when he commissioned West to paint his father’s triumph. Thomas invoked this earlier moment in order to cement his own position as rightful leader of Pennsylvania on the one hand—a claim being challenged by other colonists such as Benjamin Franklin—and peaceful negotiator with the Indians on the other, a role





Figure 7. "William Penn's First Treaty with the Indians," *Colored American*, July 18, 1840.

he had upset by imposing a series of hostile and dishonest treaties.⁴³ As Tobin writes, in "its use of Pennsylvania legend to rewrite the recent past, West's image of William Penn's treaty with the Delawares functions much like a palimpsest," with meanings layered atop one another.⁴⁴ Viewed in this light, the *Colored American's* decision to print this precise image in the midst of an ongoing war against American Indians makes perfect sense, as the painting was designed to be read as a commentary on the present.

Moreover, within the context of the newspaper and its commentary, "William Penn's First Treaty with the Indians" celebrates peaceful reconciliation between whites and American Indians while simultaneously revealing the contradictions underlying such seemingly benevolent practices. Hence, the painting would have resonated not only with the *Colored American's* coverage of the Seminoles but also with the paper's broader attempt to reconcile the federal government's seemingly contradictory principles of inclusion and practices of extermination. "William Penn's First Treaty with the Indians" suggests that one of the United States' foundational myths—that of peaceful relations between white settlers and American Indians—was in fact predicated on the threat of violence. Hence, the founding ideals of tolerance and inclusion were already contaminated with the realities of colonial conquest.

That the federal government had violated its own republican principles in its dealings with the Seminoles was thus not an aberration but part of a consistent genealogy, one that the *Colored American* rejected by uncoupling its claim to an American national identity from a necessary endorsement of the United States.

In one particular illustration, the final one I will consider here, the *Colored American* married its investment in biblical history with its discussion of a particularly American mythology. In its August 14, 1841 issue, the paper printed the "Front View of an Idol at Copan" as the centerpiece of a full-page review of John Lloyd Stephens's new two-volume set, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (see Figures 8 and 9). The paper enthusiastically endorsed the review itself, which had originally appeared in the *Poughkeepsie Telegraph*, explaining to readers that it was "so full of interest that we cannot deprive ourselves the pleasure of giving it a place in our columns."⁴⁵ Stephens, who had also authored the 1837 *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land*, was something of an amateur archaeologist who had by 1839 shifted his focus from the Holy Land to ancient American civilizations. The English artist Frank Catherwood accompanied Stephens on his journey through Central America and sketched seventy-seven illustrations for the eventual books. *Incidents of Travel in Central America* became an instant success, going through nine printings in three months.⁴⁶ The *Colored American* included the review of Stephens's work in its series on "American Antiquities," echoing its earlier "Sacred Antiquities," where the "Temple of the Sun at Nineveh" had appeared. In its placement on the page, as well as its status as the icon of a fallen civilization, Catherwood's "Front View of an Idol at Copan" resonates with the earlier biblical scene. Indeed, the accompanying text drew an explicit connection between the Central American city of Copan and biblical counterparts. Describing how the remains of Copan consisted solely of temples, the homes constructed of "perishable materials" having "crumbled into dust," the commentary reasoned that "no idea can be formed of the extent of the city when in its glory—it might have been as extensive as Babylon, Nineveh, or Thebes, and the ruins that are left to us may cover but a small portion of the perfect city."⁴⁷ Inviting readers to consider Copan through the lens of biblical history, the *Colored American* transported the biblical typologies associated with its earlier illustrations of Nineveh and Babylon onto an American continent. The ruins of Copan could thus be read, like the fate of Assyria and Babylon, as a warning for a current American civilization, the United States.

Yet the *Colored American* also used Copan's ruins and the *Telegraph's* review to establish a claim to an alternative American national identity. Pondering the origins of those who had built Copan and carved its idols, the review's author presented and dismissed theories arguing that the denizens of Atlantis or of some lost European civilization had

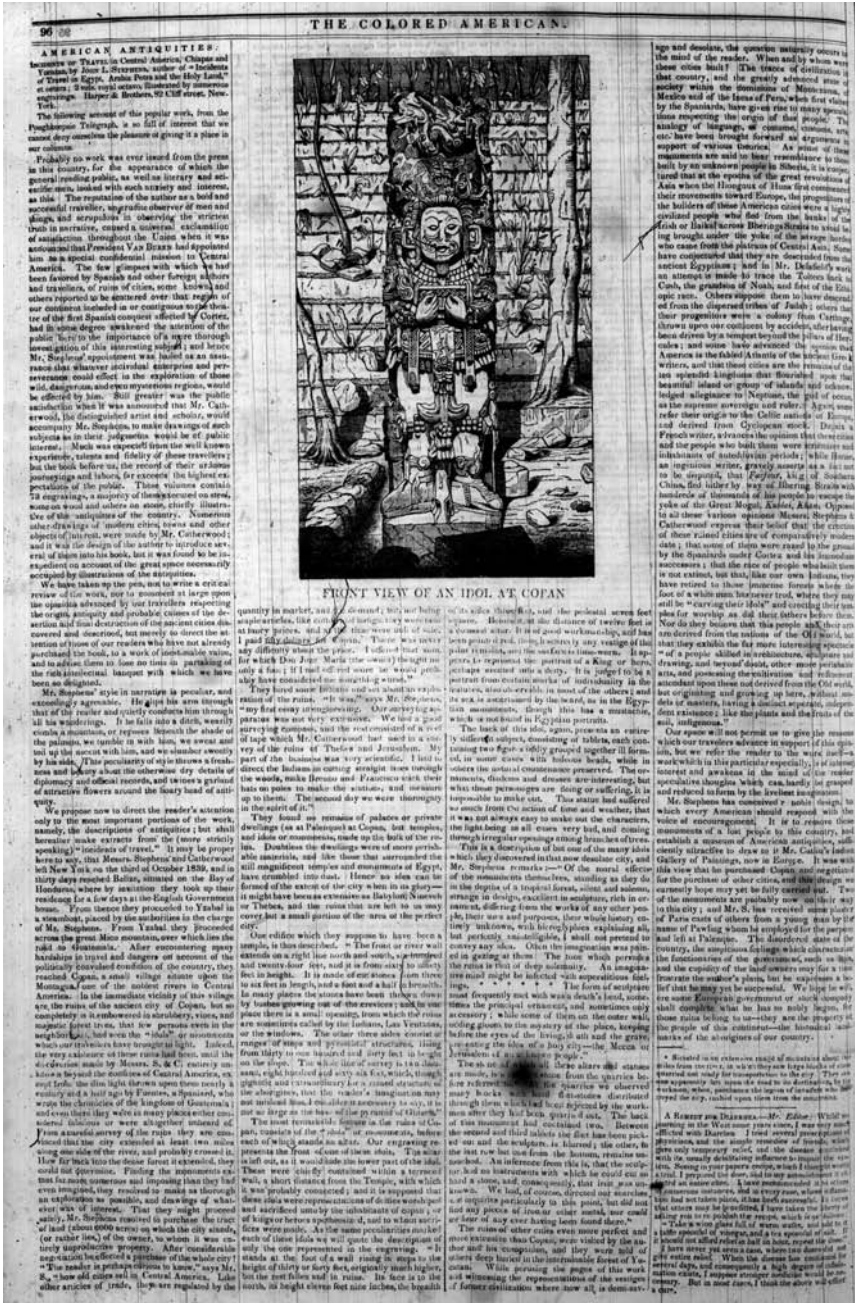


Figure 8. Colored American, August 14, 1841.

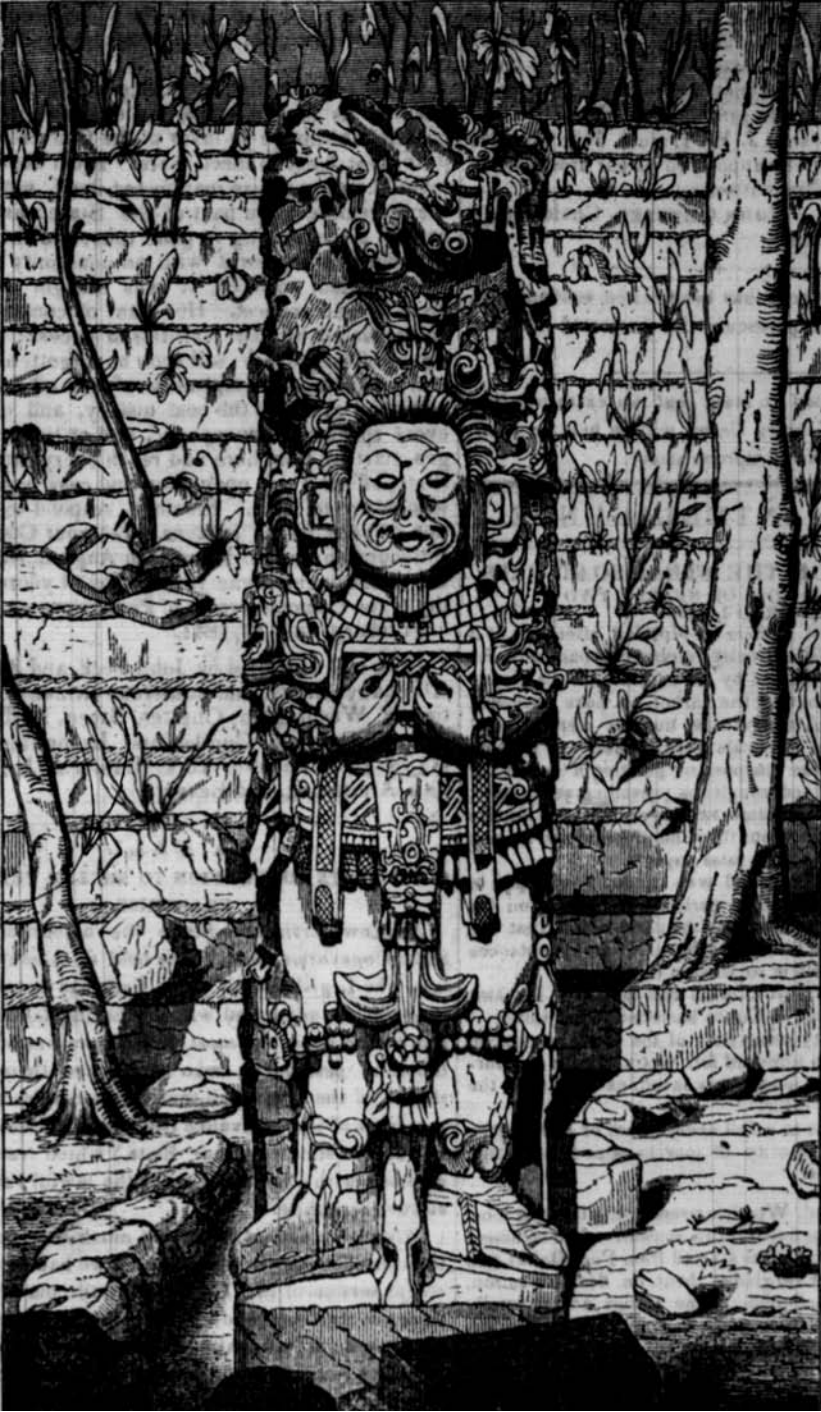


Figure 9. "Front View of an Idol at Copan," *The Colored American*, August 14, 1841.

created the city. Instead, the piece related how “Messrs. Stephens & Catherwood express their belief that the erection of these ruined cities are of comparatively modern date.” At times quoting Stephens directly, the review explored his and Catherwood’s theories regarding the ruins’ origins. The two men believed that

the race of people who built them is not extinct, but that, like our own Indians, they have retired to those immense forests where the foot of a white man has never trod, where they may still be “carving their idols” and erecting their temples for worship as did their fathers before them. Nor do they believe that this people and their arts are derived from the nations of the Old world, but that they exhibit the far more interesting spectacle “of a people skilled in architecture, sculpture and drawing, and beyond doubt, other more perishable arts, and possessing the cultivation and refinement attendant upon these not from the Old world, but originating and growing up here, without models or masters, having a distinct separate, independent existence; like the plants and the fruits of the soil, indigenous.”

In its conclusion, the review drew an ancestral link between this decidedly “indigenous” culture of Copan and the *Colored American’s* readers. Its author supported Stephens’s plan to “remove these monuments of a lost people to this country, and establish a museum of American antiquities,” imploring readers to respond to such a scheme “with the voice of encouragement” as “those ruins belong to us—they are the property of the people of this continent—the historical landmarks of the aborigines of our country.”⁴⁸ On the one hand, this claim to Copan’s ruins can be considered as an imperialist move reading all previous American civilizations as the rightful property of the United States and extending the borders of the country to encompass the lands and histories of Central America, and beyond. However, the earlier connection drawn between the builders of Copan and “our Indians” complicates this reading, suggesting that it was American Indians in the United States, the “aborigines of our country,” who could claim the most direct connection to the builders of Copan and that the right of the United States to claim that civilization as an ancestor was predicated on including its own native populations in the national body.

Of course, in the context of the *Colored American’s* ongoing coverage of the Seminole War, readers would have been well aware that the American Indians of the United States had not retreated into the peace and security of “immense forests where the foot of the white man has never trod” but were instead in the process of being forcefully expelled from their lands in Florida because of the power of the slaveholding states. The United States, then, had forfeited its claims to Copan’s civi-

lization as an ancestor. Yet an alternative American national identity—one not linked to the United States—could still make such a claim. I contend that as a part of the *Colored American*, the review's repetition of the term "our," in reference both to a "country" and to the "Indians," worked to establish precisely this relationship. If, as the illustrations I have examined suggested, black Americans and American Indians shared a national identity that transcended the United States yet remained distinctly American, then both could claim Copan's builders as ancestors. Hence, while "The Front View of an Idol at Copan" displayed a ruin that foretold the United States' future, it simultaneously offered a monument celebrating an alternative American past.

The four illustrations I have analyzed represent only a very small portion of the images that ran in the *Colored American* during 1840 and 1841, and each of the thirty-six prints presents numerous possibilities for future scholarship. In this article, I have offered an example of one sort of inquiry, concentrating on how the illustrations operate relationally and attending to contexts both within and beyond the *Colored American*. By focusing on relationships, I have suggested how these illustrations cannot be separated from the newspaper in which they appear. Furthermore, they exemplify how the black press never existed in isolation. The role of Robert Sears as the printer both of the *Colored American* as well as of numerous illustrated books underscores how the messy reality of production drew black newspapers into a wider circuit of print, one that brought with it certain limitations to be sure but that also offered surprising opportunities. A deeper engagement with the *Colored American's* illustrations as individual works as well as their relationships to each other, the newspaper, and broader visual cultures would enrich and perhaps complicate ongoing discussions surrounding African American print cultures as well as those occurring within the field of American periodicals.

NOTES

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1. "A Brief Description of the United States of America, Carefully Compiled by Robert Sears," *Weekly Advocate*, January 7, 1837.

2. "A Brief Description of the United States—*Continued*," *Weekly Advocate*, January 14, 1837.

3. For more on the federalist theory of government and especially how this theo-

ry relates to print cultures, see Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

4. See Frankie Hutton, *The Early Black Press in America, 1827-1860* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993); Armistead S. Pride and Clint C. Wilson II, *A History of the Black Press* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1997), 29-38.

5. "Our Second Year," *Colored American*, January 13, 1838; "Our Next Volume," *Colored American*, December 30, 1837.

6. "Our Next Volume."

7. See John C. Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987): 376-404.

8. "Obituary Notes," *Publisher's Weekly*, 41, no. 9 (February 27, 1892): 368.

9. *Colored American*, March 6, 1841.

10. Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of the Gilded Age in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 6.

11. "Title of This Journal," *Colored American*, March 4, 1837.

12. "We Must Vote Right," *Colored American*, October 3, 1840.

13. "Speech of Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 9, 1841, Upon the Proposition to Appropriate 'One Hundred Thousand Dollars for the Removal, &c., of Such of the Seminole Chiefs and Warriors as May Surrender for Emigration,'" *Colored American*, March 27, 1841. For more on what historians have termed the Second Seminole War, see James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 72-109; John Missall and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 94-202; Bruce Edward Twyman, *The Black Seminole Legacy and North American Politics, 1693-1845* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1999), 115-43.

14. The installments of Giddings's speech appear under the same title in the *Colored American*, March 27, 1841; April 3, 1841; April 10, 1841; April 17, 1841; April 24, 1841.

15. "Speech of Mr. Giddings," *Colored American*, March 27, 1841.

16. "Speech of Mr. Giddings," *Colored American*, March 27, 1841.

17. "Seminole War," *Register of Debates in Congress*, vol. 14, part 2 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1837), 1715.

18. "More Indian Butcheries," *New York Sun*, June 10, 1839.

19. "Speech of Mr. Giddings," *Colored American*, April 3, 1841.

20. "Sacred Geography and Antiquities, Number III," *Colored American*, June 6, 1840.

21. "Sacred Geography and Antiquities, Number IV," *Colored American*, June 13, 1840.

22. Robert Sears, ed., *Pictorial Illustrations of the Bible* (New York: Robert Sears, 1840), 20.

23. See John Davis, *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Bruce A. Harvey, *American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830-1865* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 97-149; Hilton Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Molly K. Robey, "Sacred Geographies: Religion, Race, and the Holy Land in U.S. Literature, 1819-1920," (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 2009); Brian Yothers, *The Romance of the Holy Land in American Travel Writing, 1790-1876* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).

24. Obenzinger, *American Palestine*, 24. See also Gregory Jackson, *The Word*

and *Its Witness: The Spiritualization of American Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

25. "Sacred Geography and Antiquities, Number IV."

26. Is. 14:25 (KJV).

27. See Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1953), 27-39; George Shulman, *American Prophecy: Race and Redemption in American Political Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

28. See David Howard-Pitney, *The Afro-American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982), 30-48.

29. Miller, *New England Mind*, 31.

30. "Sacred Geography and Antiquities, Number V," *Colored American*, June 20, 1840.

31. For a comprehensive discussion of Martin's work see William Feaver, *The Art of John Martin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975). For Martin's prints in particular see Michael J. Campbell, *John Martin: Visionary Printmaker* (York: Campbell Fine Art, 1992).

32. Is. 13:20 (KJV).

33. Is. 14:6 (KJV).

34. See Ellwood C. Parry III, *The Art of Thomas Cole: Ambition and Imagination* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988), 131-87.

35. See Parry, *Art of Thomas Cole*, 159; Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 21-39.

36. Davis, *Landscape of Belief*, 24.

37. "William Penn's First Treaty with the Indians," *Colored American*, July 18, 1840.

38. See Helmut Von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 63; Anthony N.B. Garvan, "The Consequence: The Social Impact of Benjamin West's Painting," in *Symbols of Peace: William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1976), unpaginated.

39. "William Penn's First Treaty with the Indians."

40. Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 58-59.

41. Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, 62.

42. Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, 56.

43. See Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, 63-80; Charles Coleman Sellers, "The Beginning: A Monument to Probity, Candor and Peace," in *Symbols of Peace: William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1976), unpaginated.

44. Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, 65.

45. "American Antiquities," *Colored American*, August 14, 1841.

46. Harvey, *American Geographics*, 150-171.

47. "American Antiquities."

48. "American Antiquities."